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U.N. SETS STAGE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF TRUSTEESHIP AREAS

MANY observers were surprised and encouraged by the achievements of the second session of the UN Trusteeship Council which adjourned on December 16. Now supervising the administration of 15,000,000 people in ten trust territories ruled by six colonial powers, the Council attained additional prestige as a result of authority conferred upon it by the General Assembly whose meetings terminated on November 30. The Assembly authorized the Council (1) to draw up plans for an international regime for a new trust territory of Jerusalem, and (2) to examine the report submitted by the Union of South Africa concerning the former mandated territory of Southwest Africa. The latter grant of authority is significant because South Africa has failed to abide by two Assembly recommendations to place Southwest Africa under trusteeship; its reports, therefore, would not normally be subject to examination by the Trusteeship Council.

EWE COMPROMISE. The work of the Council, which will meet again in February to discuss the proposed statute for Jerusalem, is a striking illustration of both the potentialities and limitations of the UN. Although the Council can only make recommendations, it does serve as an effective channel for bringing the pressure of world opinion to bear on colonial problems. A good example of its work is the resolution unanimously adopted on December 15 to remedy some of the grievances of the Ewe people in French Togoland, British Togoland and the Gold Coast, who petitioned for unification of these three areas under a single trusteeship administering authority to be chosen by popular plebiscite. The Ewes have the distinction of being the first colonial people able to send a representative, Sylvanus Olympio, to defend their petition in person before the UN.

The Council did not do what the Ewes wanted,

but it did approve a joint British-French proposal to eliminate economic, fiscal and cultural barriers causing hardship to the divided Ewe people. It further held that these measures were only an "initial effort," and that the Council would re-examine the problem when it gets the report of its visiting mission which will be sent to the area, probably in 1949. The 1948 mission will visit the British trust territory of Tanganyika and the Belgian trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi in East Africa. The Council also obtained assurance from the French government that meetings and assemblies of the Ewe people "will not, shall not and cannot be forbidden or repressed." Questions asked by Council members on this matter were particularly pointed because French authorities had banned an Ewe meeting at Palimé shortly before the Council met.

ONE ADMINISTRATION OR TWO? China's delegate, Liu Chieh, called attention to general agreement in the Council that (1) the Ewes are a distinctive people with a common culture, language and customs, (2) the population in the area is predominantly Ewe, and (3) Eweland was partitioned without regard to the wishes of the people. He then proceeded to point out that placing the Ewes under

EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAM

For background information and facts on which Congress must base its decisions about ERP, read:

BRITAIN'S CRISIS AND AMERICAN AID January 1
by Grant S. McClellan

EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAM December 15
by Harold H. Hutcheson

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separate administrations with different fiscal and educational systems was contrary to the Charter in so far as it retarded rather than promoted Ewe progress toward the Charter objective of self-government or independence.

The Council, however, did not recommend an early unification for Eweland. While calling the projected reform an "initial effort," it was unable to agree on using the phrase, "an initial effort toward unification." United States representative Benjamin Gerig sought a statement from the administering powers to this effect, but French delegate Roger Garreau responded in the negative. Garreau even questioned the competence of the Trusteeship Council to recommend a change of frontiers, whereupon the American representative promptly cited two precedents for such action—cases in which the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations had successfully recommended frontier modifications.

These discussions illustrate the limitations of an organization of sovereign states in which national pride and reputedly vital interests are at stake. The surprising fact is that the French conceded as much as they did. For the crux of the Ewe question is that the Ewes want British trusteeship. Their representative carefully avoided committing himself to this goal, but the ultimate aim of Ewe leadership is self-government in a union with the Gold Coast. Unification under British trusteeship would benefit the Ewes because the Gold Coast is the richest colony in the area; it has numerous secondary schools, in sharp contrast to neighboring French colonies; and it may become the first colony in tropical Africa to attain self-government.

WESTERN SAMOA AND SOUTHWEST AFRICA. In addition to the Ewe recommendations, two other achievements of the Council are worthy of special mention. On December 5 it resolved that the people of Western Samoa, a trust territory administered by New Zealand, should be granted increased self-government, and should be accorded full self-government as soon as the people "are capable of assuming the responsibilities involved." This resolution was based on a comprehensive report presented to the Council by a three-member special mission sent to Western Samoa in July and August.

Indirect aid to colonial peoples was given by the Council through its discussion of the report submitted by the Union of South Africa on the former mandated territory of Southwest Africa. By a vote of 10 to 0, with Belgium abstaining, this report was termed incomplete and the Union was invited to submit additional information before June 1948 when the Council will hold its next regular session.

A list of fifty pertinent questions about racial segregation, discrimination and other problems was submitted to the Union government. South Africa had declined an invitation to send a representative to participate in this discussion, but had assured the Council it would provide written answers to requests for further information.

ATMOSPHERE OF HARMONY. Despite divergent views between representatives of colonial and non-colonial powers, a constructive and harmonious atmosphere characterized the Council meetings. Most of the members were fatigued from several months of uninterrupted toil because, in addition to their duties on the Trusteeship Council, they had served on the General Assembly's trusteeship committee. Yet they tackled each problem as thoroughly as circumstances permitted. Nor did the administering and nonadministering powers split into two camps. On the Ewe issue some of the most effective questioning of Britain and France was undertaken by the United States and New Zealand. In general, Belgium, France, Britain, and Australia were the leading advocates of the *status quo*. New Zealand and the United States, the other two administering authorities, took a middle position. Most active in upholding the point of view of colonial peoples were China, Iraq and Mexico, with China the most effective of the three. Costa Rica and the Philippines, new members of the Council, have not yet played an active role.

RUSSIA STILL ABSENT. The twelfth member, Russia, continues to boycott the organization, protesting that the trusteeship agreements allow military bases in trust territories and do not define, in accordance with the Charter, "states directly concerned" in the negotiation of the agreements. Observers had speculated that the Russians might take their place at the Council table this session because the Soviet Union had played an important part in the Assembly discussion of a report from the Council, and had announced its willingness to accept Trusteeship Council supervision of an international regime for Jerusalem. Absence of the Russians, however, has not impeded the Council's work. Since the delegates have not split into two groups, the presence of the Soviet Union has not been essential to maintain the balance between administering and nonadministering authorities provided in the Charter.

The Council's success has indirectly thrown light on a long-standing controversy as to the nature of its membership. In some circles the view is still expressed that the Council should have been organized along the lines of the Permanent Mandates Commission which was made up of specialists owing no official allegiance to any nation. Advocates of this view feared that the official representatives

of member states on the Trusteeship Council would inject national rivalries into discussions of colonial problems, and would be unable to accomplish Charter aims. The Council's record to date justifies the

defenders of the present system, who feel that official representation gives the prestige necessary to lend weight to Council recommendations.

VERNON MCKAY

HOW WILL DEBATE ON CHINA AFFECT MARSHALL PLAN?

The problem of deciding what to do, or not to do, in China is likely to be one of the major foreign policy issues of 1948. On this question Secretary of State Marshall and a minority group in Congress, mostly Republican, find themselves in at least temporary conflict. Both the Administration and these Congressional critics, led by Representative Walter Judd, Republican, of Minnesota, agree in their desire to bolster the power of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, whose armies are suffering new setbacks in Manchuria, North China and the Yangtze valley. But differences exist on China's role in American foreign policy and, correspondingly, on the degree of aid to be given to the Nanking government at this time.

CHINA AND THE MARSHALL PLAN. The Administration's strategy abroad is to give overwhelming priority to the Marshall plan for the countries of Western Europe. By contrast, Congressional advocates of large-scale aid to Nanking are recommending, in effect, that Europe's priority be lessened through greater emphasis on China. The implications of the two positions are of the greatest significance, although not necessarily apparent at first glance.

In theory an effort could be made to give new, extensive aid to the Chinese government without reducing the total requested by President Truman for the sixteen Western European nations. But this is not the way the issue is likely to work out in practice. In what must be regarded as a preliminary, although imperfect, test of Congressional opinion on the Marshall plan, the recent special session of Congress cut the Administration's proposed total of \$597 million interim aid for France, Italy and Austria to \$522 million and included an unrequested token sum of \$18 million for China. It seems probable that the appropriation of really large sums for China would have a much sharper effect on allocations for Europe under the Marshall plan.

The proponents of further large-scale aid to Nanking have sought to minimize the amounts required to achieve their objectives in China. They have taken the position that an expansion of the present American military mission, the delivery of additional surplus military equipment, and the expenditure of a small fraction of the total suggested for Western Europe—perhaps a billion dollars or more for a three-year period—would bring victory to Chiang in the civil war with the Chinese Com-

munists. But the ineffectiveness of past American aid to Chiang as well as recent American experience in Greece indicate that this could hardly be the result. If the Administration is already discussing the question of further appropriations for Greece, where a guerrilla force of some 20,000 men has grown stronger despite the fact that a one-year program involving \$300 million is well under way, it is evident that in China, where there are considerably more than a million Communist regulars and several million militia auxiliaries, the disbursement of many times this sum could be nothing more than one installment in a mounting long-term obligation.

If foreign aid is thought of simply as a matter of appropriating dollars, the conflict between the Marshall plan and a massive China program may seem obscure. But if the idea is firmly grasped that Congress is really being asked to appropriate goods and services—cotton, machinery, coal, shipping, wheat, petroleum, and so forth—then it is plain that the American economy has its limits. The Administration, therefore, has reason to doubt, both politically and economically, whether the commitments involved in the China program proposed by the Congressional minority could be carried through. It also fears that if large sums were deducted for China from what otherwise might go to Western Europe the result might be a failure of its European policy.

MARSHALL AND CONGRESS. The differences between the Secretary of State and the China minority in Congress are quite complex. Party conflicts, Congressional voting problems, and the Administration's concern about the future of the Nanking government all color the situation. For example, if the Secretary of State and his China critics reached a deadlock, the reluctance of the Republican Congress to vote funds for Europe might increase. Apart from this, the Administration's own actions on China make it difficult for it to argue with its Congressional opponents in public.

Secretary Marshall himself wanted the Export-Import Bank to appropriate \$500 million in loans for China last spring and was unsuccessful only because the Bank insisted on rejecting the proposal as too poor a risk. More recently, in November, he announced that the Administration would ask Congress to appropriate \$300 million for Nanking, to cover the fifteen-month period from April 1, 1948 to June 30, 1949. Reports from China, apparently reliable but not confirmed publicly in Washington,

indicate that an expansion of the activities of the American military mission has been quietly under way. Wishing to give Chiang limited aid—perhaps amounting to a delaying action north of the Yangtze area and a holding action elsewhere and in Formosa—the executive side of the government does not relish the thought of explaining the reasons for not giving more. The Administration also finds itself on the spot when asked why the Truman Doctrine should not now be applied with the same vigor in China as in Greece, for an answer might have the effect of weakening a major tenet of current foreign policy.

EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION NEEDED. The Administration is expected to present a China aid program to Congress early in the new year. It is desirable that the ensuing debate be accompanied by widespread public discussion of the issues. It would be particularly beneficial if the debate produced as exact and authoritative answers as possible to ques-

tions such as the following: Precisely how much aid has the United States given Nanking since V-J day? What results have been achieved through each item of aid? What changes in the China situation are envisaged as a result of new aid proposals? Is further aid likely to be sought after this appropriation, if granted? But it is not enough to approach the aid problem simply from the point of view of its effectiveness. It is also necessary to ask what influence further assistance to Nanking would have on the attitude of the Chinese people, who are desperately anxious to find a way out of civil war. The Nanking government, it should be borne in mind, enjoys little popular support in its own areas. The international risks of increased intervention in China also require most careful examination, since China offers potentialities for Soviet-American conflict that could make Greece look like a model of international goodwill.

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

F. P. A. BOOKSHELF

The Record of American Diplomacy, edited by R. J. Bartlett. New York, Knopf, 1947. \$6.00

This presentation of key documents of American diplomacy may be used as a supplement to standard history texts in American foreign policy or as a collection of readings which, with the aid of the editor's short notes, tells the story of this country's relations abroad from the Colonial era through World War II.

Empire in Green and Gold: The Story of the American Banana Trade, by Charles Morrow Wilson. New York, Holt, 1947. \$3.50

An account of the United Fruit Company, an enterprise which purveys half of all bananas in international trade and, to Central Americans, is synonymous with the United States. A good case is made for its beneficial influence in the development of the area.

The United States, by Avery Craven and Walter Johnson. New York, Ginn, 1947. \$5.00

A straightforward account of American history from our colonial beginnings through Hiroshima. The text is illustrated with helpful maps, reproductions of interesting cartoons as well as many useful photographs.

Complacent Dictator, by Sir Samuel Hoare. New York, Knopf, 1947. \$3.50

In this extremely interesting account of wartime British strategy in Madrid, the former Ambassador concludes that the sooner Franco disappears, the better it will be not only for Britain, but for the whole of Europe. He believes that only the restoration of the monarchy as a symbol of "continuity and unity" can save Spain.

Towards World Prosperity, edited by Mordecai Ezekiel. New York, Harper, 1947. \$5.00

A useful world survey of post-war economic conditions and prospects, with an excellent commentary by the editor on the problems of further industrialization.

Will Dollars Save the World? by Henry Hazlitt. New York, Appleton-Century, 1947. \$1.50

The author rejects the idea that Europe's present economic difficulties are largely the result of the destruction wrought during the war. The main obstacles to recovery, he contends, are the policies now being pursued by European governments.

The Keynesian Revolution, by Lawrence R. Klein. New York, Macmillan, 1947. \$3.50

A thorough study of the origins, development and influence of the economic ideas of the late Lord Keynes. The writer is an enthusiastic supporter of the Keynesian thesis that there has been oversaving and underconsumption.

Man and the State, edited by William Ebenstein. New York, Rinehart, 1947. \$6.50

"The purpose of this book," the author states, "is to present the major ideas that have animated the political thinking of the Western world in the modern age." This he achieves by selections from well known theorists like Locke, Jefferson, Mill, Hegel and Marx. But what makes this series of readings most useful is the inclusion of many excerpts from books and speeches of recent political leaders and trenchant comments on the contemporary scene from thinkers such as John Dewey, Maritain, Fromm, Laski, Cohen and Niebuhr.

The British Commonwealth and World Society, edited by Richard Frost. New York, Oxford University Press, 1947. \$4.25

The British Dominions are increasingly faced with common problems about trade, colonial affairs, migration, race and the UN, which give rise to cooperative attempts at their solution. Such subjects are surveyed in this book—the proceedings of the third unofficial conference on British Commonwealth relations sponsored by the various Institutes of International Affairs of the several Dominions.

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